a large hole where these protruded through and two small holes that marked the eye sockets. The ears he usually cut off at the roots, and pulled them out of the skin with his teeth at his leisure; but in certain circumstances, when it was forbidden to use a knife, he pulled free the outer integument on the spot.

In the late spring, when the caribou was putting on a new coat, the winter hair remained longest on the throat and belly. As this part was useless for clothing, the hair being prone to shed, the Eskimo frequently preserved only the part on which the new coat had already formed and threw the rest of the skin away. In such cases the preliminary incisions for removing the skin followed the outlines of the short hair. Often, however, the native anticipated the natural shedding of the winter hair by pulling it out with his thumb and fingers, leaving the new coat very short and spotted with white hairs, but in this condition highly prized. Later in the season, when the belly of the animal was covered with short white hair, invaluable for trimming, he made a cut along each flank and removed that part of the skin before detaching the remainder.

Blood stains were extracted by rubbing or stamping the skin in hard snow, which acted like damp blotting paper; or by steeping it in cold water and squeezing the hair. The Copper Eskimo woman was very careful not to allow a green skin to dry before scraping away with her curved knife the fat that still adhered to it; and as these scrapings were pure fat, she generally ate them at once, or put them aside for future consumption. Then she stretched the skin out to dry by pegging it to the ground with sticks or weighting down the edges with stones; the white belly skin and the large short-haired skins intended for bedding she always pegged down in order to stretch them as much as possible. When travelling across country day after day in the short Arctic summer, the skin was laid over the back of the pack or across a long pole; and at every halt it was stretched out afresh on the ground to hasten the drying, because a green skin weighed twice as much as a dry one. Once the skin was dry it could be laid aside and not touched again until needed. Then the owner sewed up the rents and scraped the whole underside with the copper- (now iron-) bladed scraper (See p. 84). The woman (or man, for the men often scraped skins while the women sewed them) sat back on the sleeping platform, or on the ground outside the tent, and stretched out the skin in front of her. Holding it tightly pinioned at the bottom between her crossed legs, she pulled it taut above the knee with her left hand and scraped rapidly downwards away from her with the right. A sudden relaxation of the leg, and a quick jerk, found her scraping in a new place. To the onlooker her body seemed strained and her attitude very uncomfortable, but long practice greatly reduced the fatigue, though the labour really was hard. Indeed I have seen the perspiration rolling down a woman's face as she scraped a skin outdoors when the temperature was below zero Fahrenheit.

The Copper Eskimo woman often ate the scrapings that came away during this operation, although they contained very little fat. To soften the skin still further she rubbed tepid water over its under surface, folded it up, and laid it on one side for a few hours. Then she scraped it again, this time with an instrument made from the shoulder blade of a musk-ox, which merely stretched and softened the skin without removing anything from its surface (See p. 83).

The stretching and softening of the skin was usually the last process it underwent before it was made up into clothing. If, however, the woman desired the skin without fur, as for making the upper legs of her long boots, she scraped the hair from the dry skin with her curved knife. Copper Eskimo clothing was often decorated with red, black, or white bands; the white was the natural colour of the skin; the red was produced by rubbing with litharge; and the black parts were either untanned sealskin, or else seal or caribou skin stained with galena. Ordinary dirt stains on white deerskin could be removed with dry snow.

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women's. Figure 20 shows a rather unusual type of dancing cap, made entirely from bealskin. Most were of short-haired caribou fur, decorated with parallel white bands, or with bands in white, red, and black exactly like outer stockings; many lacked even the fur base, the parallel bands forming the entire body of the cap. Here and there were attached clusters of creamy caribou-skin thongs, and to the crown a white weasel skin that trailed down behind (Figure 21). Inset in most caps, too, from one side to the other over the peak, was the head and neck of a loon, so split that the bill projected upward. Figure 22 shows a typical specimen.

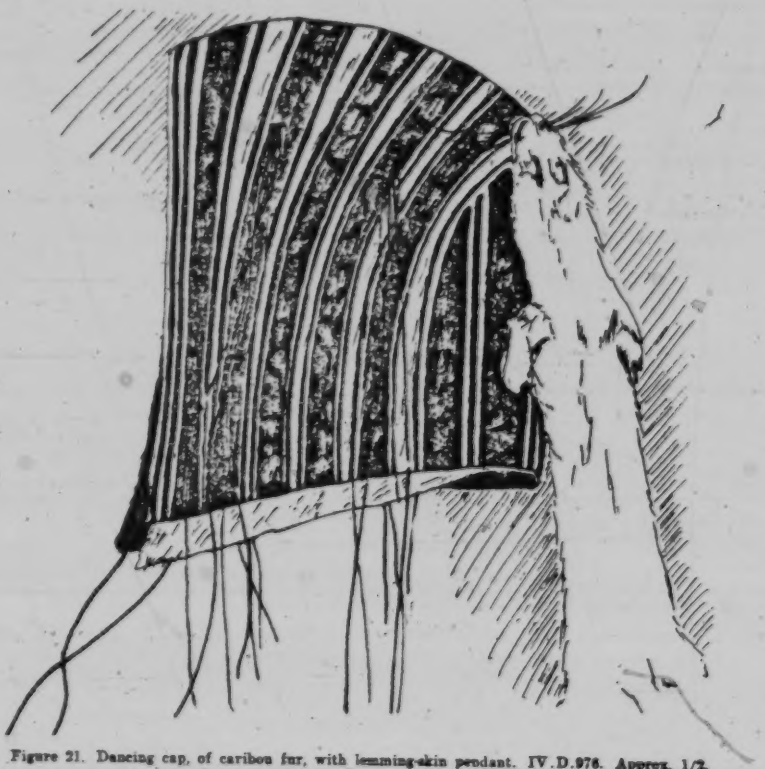

Figure 21. Dancing cap, of caribou fur, with lemming-skin pendant. IV.D.976. Approx. 1/2.

This loon-head ornament probably originated from the use of a complete loon-skin head-dress, such as was current on the Arctic coast of Alaska down to the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] I have never seen a specimen, but

[1] Cf. Simpson, John: The Western Eskimo; a selection of papers on Arctic Geography and Ethnology reprinted and presented to the Arctic Expedition of 1875, p. 263, London, 1875.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31]

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Figure 22 Dancing cap of caribou fur with lemming-skin pendant and loon's bill. IV.D.977. Approx 1/3

I have never seen a specimen, but a native of that region told me that the skin was split down the middle of the back so that the long wing feathers would fall over the dancer's shoulders. The bill, after careful cleansing, was whitened with gypsum, and, whenever possible, one of the valuable blue beads that reached this area from Siberia was tied to the nostril of the upstanding bill. The dancer also planted a long wing feather on the front of his head, and one on each side. Only the skin of a yellow-billed loon (*Gavia stellata*) was acceptable for such a head-dress; any other skin would have excited ridicule.

Mittens. The ordinary mittens (*poalluk*) were very short, covering the hands but leaving so much of the wrists bare that, unless protected by long coat sleeves, they were often severely frost-bitten. Adults seemed very indifferent to this defect, though they sometimes finished off the edges with long-haired fringes of white fur that afforded some slight protection; but mothers often lengthened the mittens of their children.

Most of the mittens were single, with fur on the outside only, where it covered the whole surface (Figure 23*a*). A few were made double to carry fur on both sides (Figure 23*b*); others had fur all over the outside, except on the palm, where it was inside (Figure 23*c*); and a type that usually bore two or three ornamental bands of white fur around the wrist, or across the back of it, had no fur at all on the palm, inside or outside (Figure 23*d*). The last type was much in vogue for dances because it furnished a better grip on the heavy drum-handle, but whether it developed on this account is not known.

Most short mittens were made from the brown summer skins of the caribou, but some were also made from the heavier white winter skins. Naturally only those made from the brown summer skins carried the insertions of white fur. One occasionally saw mittens of polar bear skin or sealskin, which were stiffer and (the sealskin ones at least) not so warm as caribou-fur mittens, but, unlike the latter, did not shed their fur with dampness. They were particularly serviceable, therefore, for such tasks as icing the sled runners.

If we leave out of consideration the white insertions just mentioned, every mitten was cut out in three pieces. One piece gave the palm and half the thumb; a second, the front of the wrist and the back of the thumb; and the third formed the whole back of the mitten. The general pattern can be seen in Figure 24.

Besides his short, everyday mittens each man owned a pair of long ones (*atqatik*) for working with snow, and especially for building the snow-hut (Figure 25). It was made, preferably, from the leg skins of the caribou, on which the long hair lies smooth and flat; and it covered the sleeve of the coat to about the middle of the forearm, where a sinew drawstring that passed through a narrow band of dehaired skin, doubled back and sewn all round the upper edge, checked the penetration of the snow. Being solely a working mitten (whence it commonly received another name, *savaktotik*, i.e., "working garment") it carried no ornamentation and was furred on the outside only. Like the shorter mitten, it was cut out in three pieces.

Many women attached to the bottom of the outer coat, in the very middle of the front, a triangular piece of fur, brown, white, or brown with white insertions. With the white gusset in the front of the trousers, and the white or coloured edges of the outer stocking, this gave a series of more or less symmetrical triangles inside one another, all having the bottom edge of the coat for their bases (Figure 27)[1]. The same triangular appendage sometimes appeared on men's coats also, but much more rarely, because, standing isolated, it could not produce the same decorative effect.

Figure 27. Outline of the white insertions on the upper edges of women's outer stockings, on the front of the trousers, and on the bottom of the coat, showing the symmetrical V patterns, one inside the other.

As common, or almost as common as this triangular appendage was a long, narrow, rectangular one, fringed, like the bottom edge of the coat, with white fur. Here the dark line of appendage fur merely continued the dark line down the middle of the coat.[1]

The decoration of women's outer coats generally coincided with that on men's, except that white armbands encircled the forearms instead of the upper arms. A coat from Bathurst Inlet offered the most striking variation; down the middle of the front it carried the regular tattooing design, a Y flanked on each side by an I, produced by narrow bands of red-stained skin that were edged and dotted with running stitches of white skin in such a way as to give the impression of embroidery (Figure 28). One or two other women in the same district wore coats modelled after those in vogue among the inland Eskimo to the southeast; that is to say, they were of nearly equal length back and front, slit up the sides, edged with close-set fringes of dehaired caribou thongs, and provided with hoods about half as long again as those normally current among the Copper Eskimo.

[1] See Plate IX A, Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 267.

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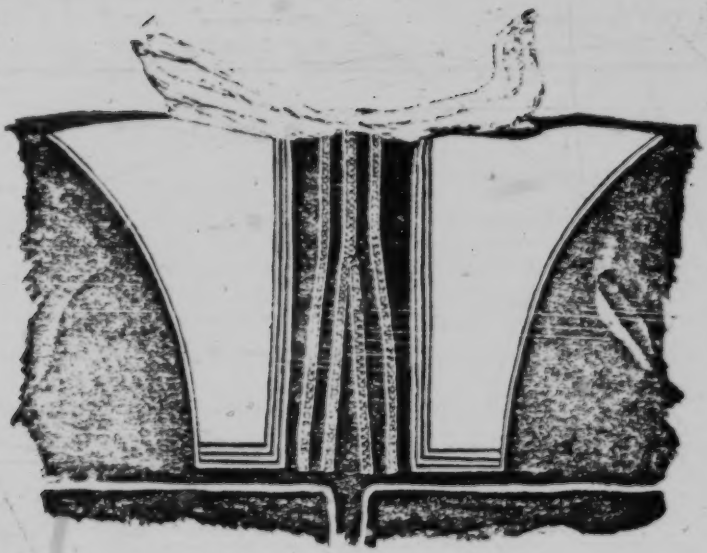

Figure 28. Front of woman's coat, decorated with a running stitch. IV.D.693. Approx. 1/3.

Trousers. Women, like men, wore two pairs of trousers (*nalikkak*) in winter, and only the inner pair in summer; but as their stocking covered more of the leg than the men's, their trousers were shorter and did not reach the knees.

The inner pair was rarely if ever decorated. The outer often had coloured stripes down the outside of each leg, and, in the middle of the front, a triangular gusset of white fur, with its two sides parallel to the white or coloured edges of the stockings. To enhance the symmetry of the arrangement these two sides also carried at times an edging of coloured bands (Figure 29).

So far as I know, women never used drawstrings on their trousers, but secured them with a sealskin thong fitted with loop and toggle.

Shoes, Socks, and Mittens. These were in no way different from those worn by men. Women, of course, did not possess the long working mittens that reached half-way up the forearm.

Waterboots. The woman's waterboot (Figure 30) had the shape of the stocking beneath it, which above the foot differed entirely from a man's boot or stocking. After fitting tightly around the ankle it expanded rapidly upward, attaining just above the knee a diameter of from 10 inches to over a foot. The outer side of the boot (or stocking) then tapered to form a wide strap that tucked over the belt holding up the trousers.

In the foot it did not differ from a man's boot. Like a man's, too, the leg had only one seam, straight up the middle; but in so large an expanse of skin there were generally two or three holes, from wounds and other causes, that required covering with round patches.

Outer Stockings. The waterboot replaced in summer the outer stocking (*ipiya.k*) of caribou fur, which bore the same peculiar shape as the boot, but was frequently decorated after the manner of the man's outer stocking. Commonly all the upper edge, from the inside of the knee to the top of the strap that tucked into the belt, was bordered with several parallel rows in red, white, and black (either the black or the red, but more commonly the red, might be omitted). From the strap to the foot, down the front of the leg, ran another broad band, similarly coloured, and a third, or else two or three rather narrow bands inserted an inch or two apart, extended half-way around the ankle or completely encircled it (*See* Figure 31). There were numerous modifications of this pattern, however, as in the patterns on men's stockings. For example, the coloured stripes varied greatly in number; they were often replaced by broad or narrow bands of white caribou fur; and the decoration down the front of the leg was frequently omitted (*See* Figure 32).

The feet of both outer and inner stockings were made preferably from caribou leg skins, but not infrequently from marmot fur. In spring some women replaced them with feet of haired sealskin. The rest of the garment was derived from the body fur of the caribou.

Inner Stockings. These corresponded in shape with the outer, and bore the same name, *ipiya.k*, but were almost invariably plain. In fact, I have seen only one decorated pair, a specimen that came from Prince Albert Sound. It bore the usual red, white, and black stripes, but they were inserted on the hairless, unattractive side, as the stocking was worn with the fur side in. Around the ankle was an additional design, the YII pattern that women tattooed on their arms and etched on their needle-cases, here produced by running stitches of very narrow sealskin (Figure 33). This design was very rare on garments, but occurred also on a woman's coat and on a pair of women's outer stockings that we bought in Coronation Gulf.

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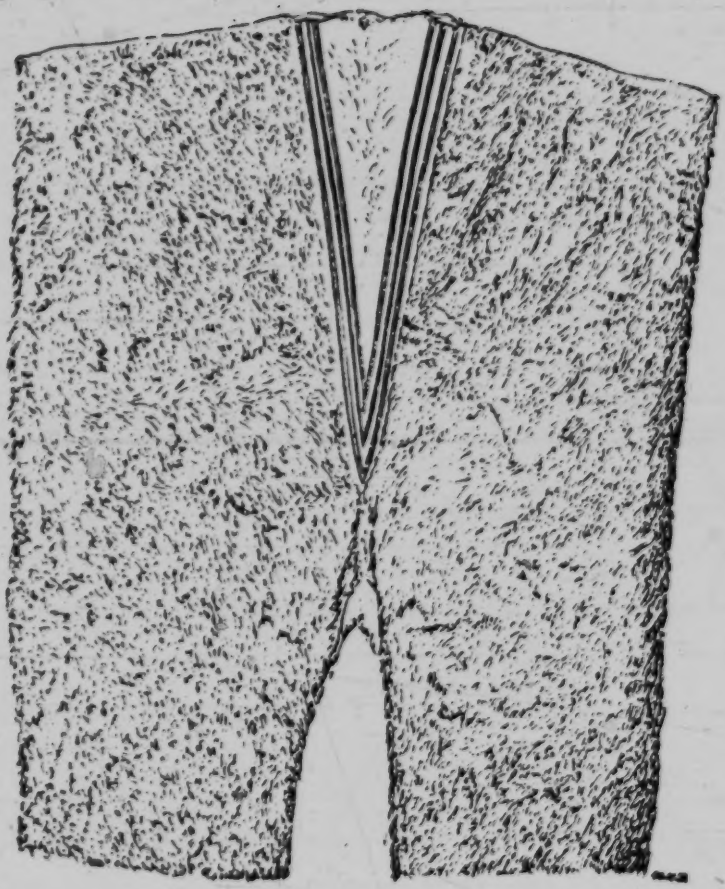

Figure 29. Woman's outer trousers. IV.D.789. 1/8.

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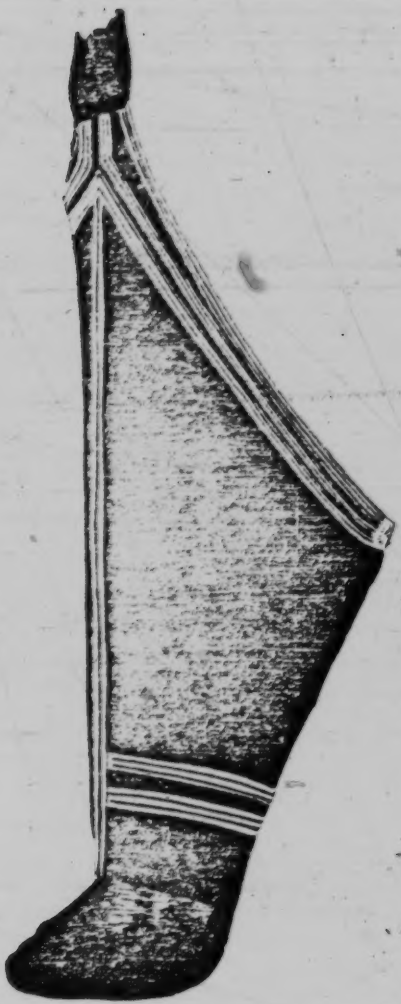

Figure 31. Woman's outer stocking. IV.D.930. Approx. 1/6.

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Figure 32. Woman's outer stocking. IV.D.1041. Approx. 1/8.

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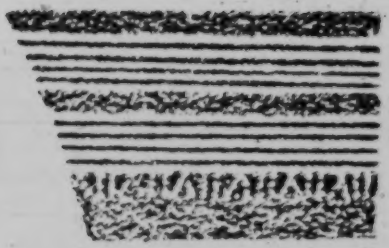

Figure 33. Insertions on the bottom of a woman's inner stocking. IV.D.1095

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CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

Within the snow-hut or tent a baby sprawled stark naked on bedskins, or wore only a caribou-fur diaper, covered at times with a second diaper of either caribou skin or sealskin that fastened around the waist with a cord. Without other protection than this the mother carried it on the trail under the fur coat. In very cold weather, however, she generally added warm mittens and socks of any available fur, caribou, marmot, or hare; often, too, a square of fur on the back fastened by two cords, one around the neck and the other around the waist. The baby's front, of course, needed no covering, as it rested directly against the mother's bare back.

As soon as the child was old enough to stand on its feet it received a proper suit of clothing, generally made at first in one piece (Figure 34). The front, as in European combinations, was slit down the middle and laced across; another slit passed between the legs. Each mitten was sewn half-way around the edge of the sleeve, leaving a gap through which the hand could protrude; and there was a hood that pulled up over the head. Sealskin shoes completed the costume, which was naturally doubled in cold weather and augmented by separate outer stockings. Occasionally, a cap was substituted for the usual hood, and a few suits had the slit, not in front, but at the back. Although the usual material was caribou fur, marmot fur was nearly as common in districts where marmots were plentiful, because it did not spoil so readily with dampness.

At the age of about 5 or 6 the child again changed its costume. It now wore a separate coat shaped like its parent's, but often lacking the long tail; combination trousers and stockings held up either by a belt or by a strap over one shoulder; outer stockings reaching to just below the knees; and sealskin shoes. Some of these combination trousers and stockings fitted very tightly, others were broad and flowing. The clothing of a girl at this time was indistinguishable from that of a boy, except that her coat often had the wide shoulders that characterized her mother's coat. Some girls retained this child's costume up to the time of their marriage,[1] but most boys and girls adopted full adult clothing as they approached adolescence. It was quite common for a child to wear an inner suit, all in one piece, beneath an outer suit in which the coat and trousers were separate.

There was seldom any decoration on the outer suit made all in one piece, and such as did occur seemed to consist merely of narrow white bands of caribou fur around the sleeves and possibly elsewhere. Boys' and girls' combination outer trousers and stockings occasionally showed similar white bands. From Coronation Gulf I obtained a girl's combination outer trousers and stockings that had borne two parallel stripes of white fur around each leg just above the ankle. When the fur became worn, however, and the costume shabby, it had been reversed to serve as inner combinations, and decorated down the front of the legs and around the ankles, on the now outer, hairless side, with narrow bands of black and white sealskin similar to those on women's outer stockings (Figure 35). No other inner combination suit, to my knowledge, bore any decoration; this one seemed as unique of its kind as the woman's inner stockings illustrated in Figure 33.

[1] For a photograph showing a marriageable girl in this costume see Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, Pl. VIII (p. 368 top right).

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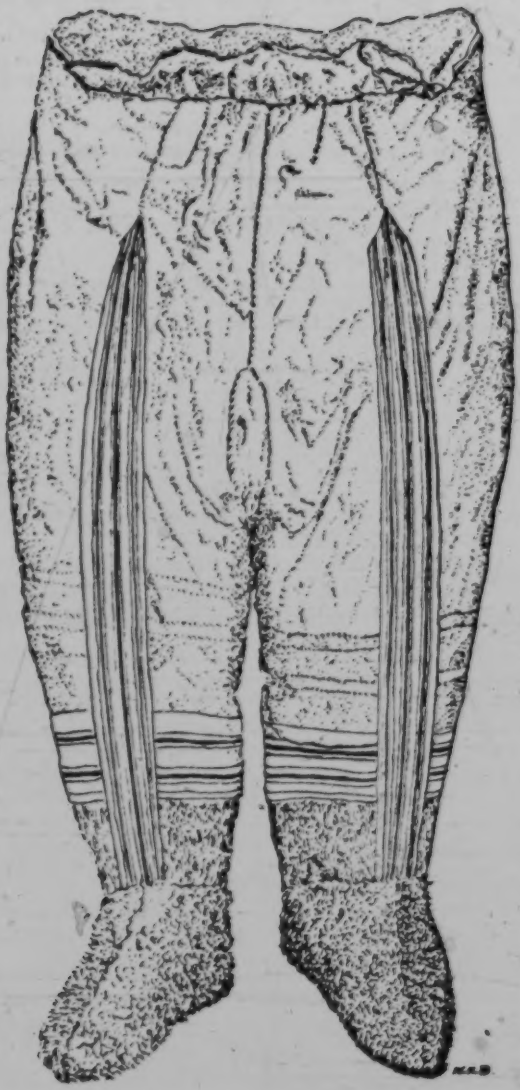

Figure 38. Girls' combination trousers and stockings. IV.D.988. Approx. 1/8.

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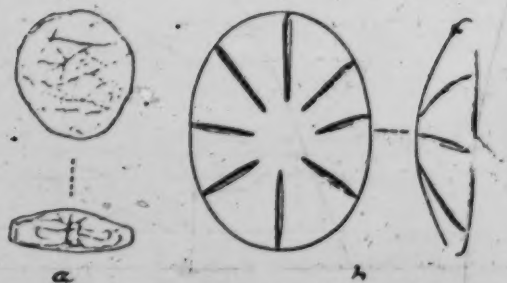

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Figure 37. Buttons for the backs of men's coats; a: of boiled albumen, IV.D.619, 1/1; b: of bone, IV.D.1014, 2/1.

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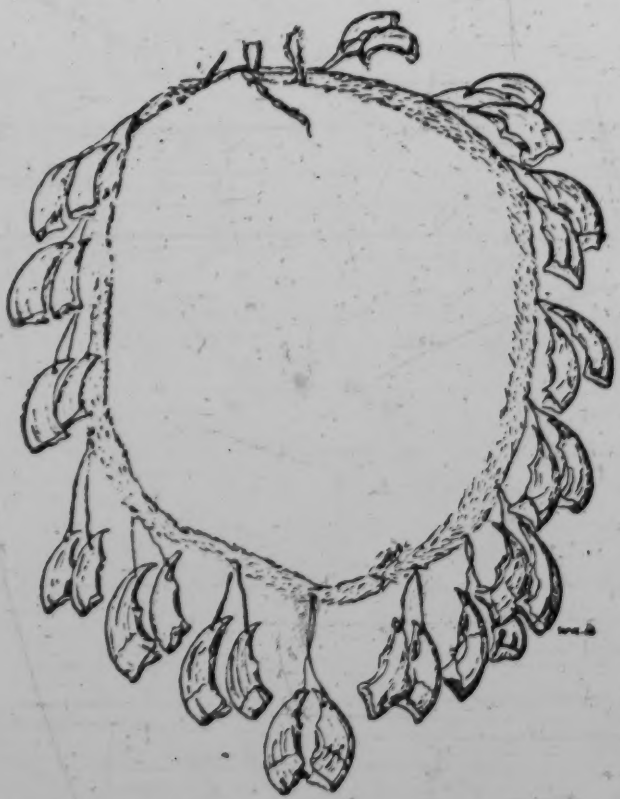

Figure 38. Caribou-fur bandolier with claw pendants. IV.D.62. 1/3.

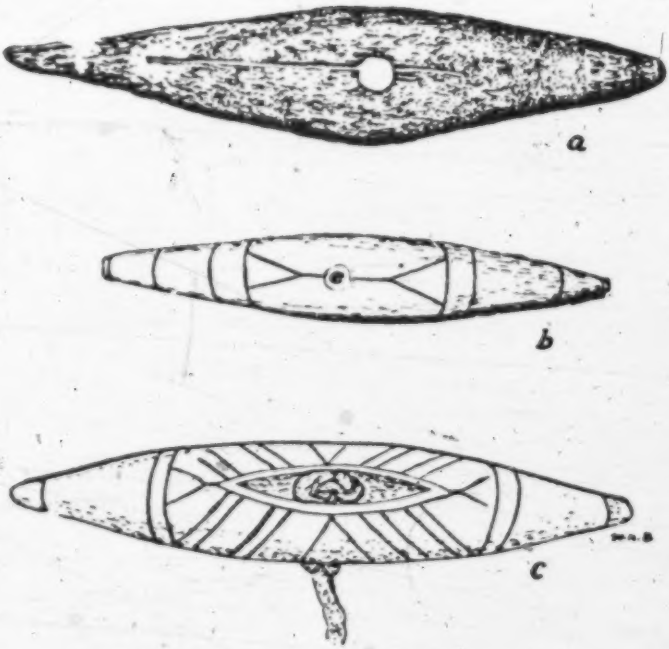

Figure 40. Women's belt toggles. IV.D.1372, 844. 1/1.

For a time I fancied that belt toggles could be distinguished from the toggles used for hauling seals (Figure 150) by the direction of the line-hole, but my collection of both kinds showed that any such distinction was illusory; in both, the hole was drilled indifferently from top to bottom or from side to side. It is probable, indeed, that many a toggle that served for hauling seals during the winter months became a belt toggle when the sealing season ended. At all events, I know of no criterion for separating the two except that if a toggle is of wood, or if its hole is of very small diameter, it probably terminated a belt strap and was not used for sealing.

Figure 41. Toggle from child's belt. IV.D.213. 1/1.

Combs and Snow Goggles. Though not strictly ornaments, these may conveniently find a place under that heading. Combs were not very highly regarded by the Copper Eskimo. Many women employed their fingers instead, and those who did possess combs used them only rarely. All that I saw were made of bone, and seldom exceeded 4 inches in length.

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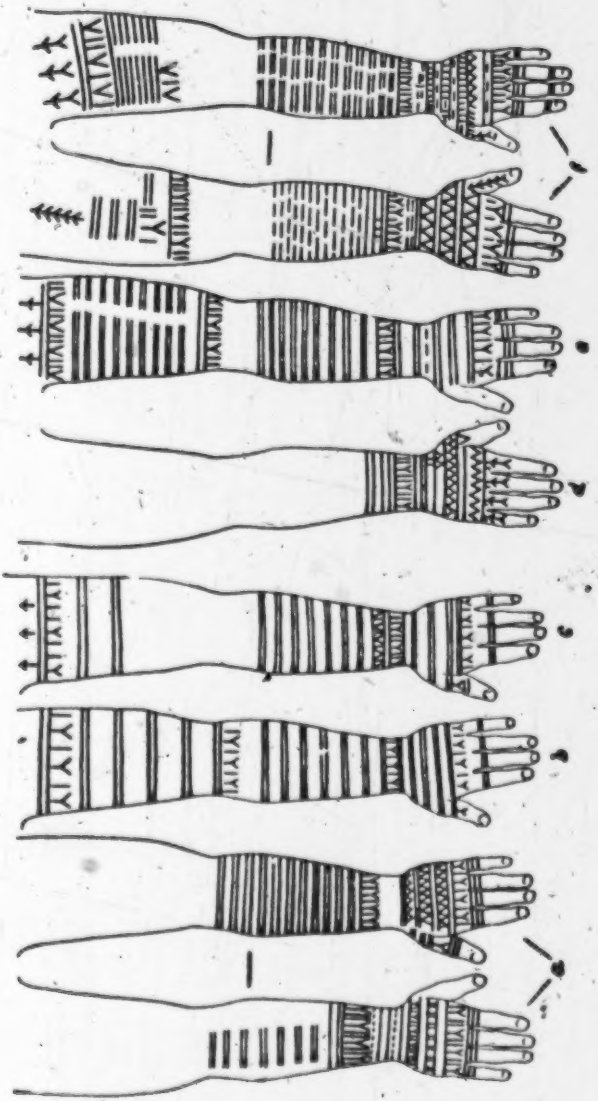

Figure 45. Arm and hand tattooing.

304 female friend or relative. There seemed to be no compulsion in the matter
[626] beyond public opinion and a woman's natural desire to follow the current methods of adornment. A young married woman in the Tree River group refused to allow her face to be tattooed at all on the ground that the process was too
[832] painful; but as she was only 17 years of age her aversion may have been overcome later. The average girl was rather eager to be tattooed in order to increase her charms.

The Copper Eskimo employed the process usual among other Eskimo tribes; they passed under the skin a copper sewing needle threaded with sinew dipped in lampblack. For dots, however, and sometimes also for lines, they did not thread the needle (but inserted into the puncture a sharp wooden stick dipped in lampblack. Only a few marks could be made at one time because the operation was very painful. Most girls began on the backs of the hands and on the forehead.

304 The designs consisted of series of parallel lines, zigzag and spur bands. On
• 531 the face the usual marks were double V's in the middle of the forehead, two or three connected "spurs" running from the corner of each eye, two parallel lines across each cheek, and five lines radiating from the lower lip to the chin (*See*
[177] Figure 44). Three parallel lines on each cheek instead of two, and from six to ten lines on the chin were seen on several women, nearly all of whom came from the eastern end of Coronation Gulf; doubtless, these unusual numbers were due to the influence of the Netsilik Eskimo farther east. On the arms the marks were usually confined to the outer surface (Figure 45); they seldom extended
[755] above the elbow, or completely around the lower arm. Tattooing of the legs, after the manner of the eastern natives, was not practised, although a woman in Dolphin and Union Strait was said to have tattooed two small lines on her thigh to remove a painful swelling. A Prince Albert Sound woman had a short line tattooed on her left breast, for what reason I did not discover.

302 We neither saw nor heard of any painting of the face or body other than a few streaks made in jest with a piece of charcoal.

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interesting, because it has been broken across in two places and repaired with six copper bands. Moreover, unlike all the other pots from this region in the possession of the museum, it is made from a biotite chlorite schist. Yet in shape it is almost a duplicate of No. IV.D.676 (Figure 59), the sides in both pots being unusually convex. The latter vessel came from Coppermine River, and is of the usual soapstone (talc chlorite schist) from the quarry near Tree River.

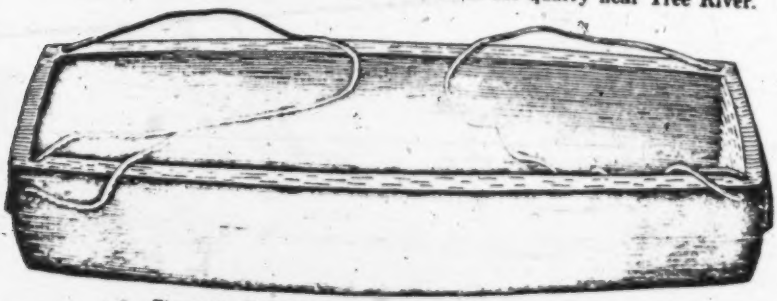

Figure 59. Typical soapstone pot. IV.D.676. Approx. 1/3.

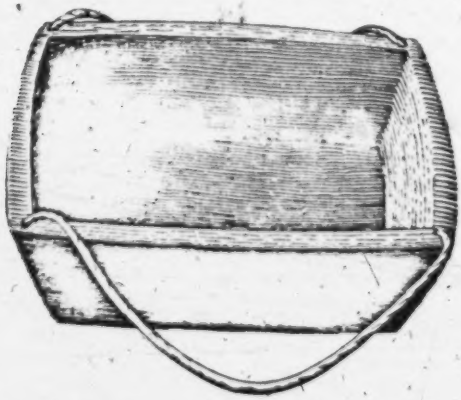

Figure 60. Squarish soapstone pot, now in Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

From an artistic point of view it would seem that the pots of the Copper Eskimo have degenerated during the last 150 years, for Hearne gives a slightly different description of the vessels he saw in the Eskimo encampment at Bloody Fall, near the mouth of Coppermine River: "Some of those kettles are so large as to be capable of containing five or six gallons; and though it is impossible these poor people can perform this arduous work with any other tools than harder stones, yet they are by far superior to any that I had ever seen in Hudson's Bay; every one of them being ornamented with neat mouldings round the rim, and some of the large ones with a kind of flute-work at each corner. In shape they were a long square, something wider at the top than bottom, like a knife-tray, and strong handles of the solid stone were left at each end to lift them up."[1]

[1] Hearne's Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, edited by J. B. Tyrrell: The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1911, p. 198.

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415 The flute-work in the corners and the strong handles of solid stone both
324 disappeared, though the latter survived among the Caribou Eskimo.[1] In order
531 perhaps to replace the handles, the neat ridges were lowered down the face of
178 the short ends, and they were dropped entirely from the longer sides. With regard to the flute-work in each corner one may perhaps conjecture that it was a rounded projection pierced with a suspension hole, as in the pots of West Greenland,[2] to avoid drilling through the actual wall. So far as I know no specimen exists of the type of pot seen by Hearne.

TABLE

352 The table, having no legs, was practicable only in a snow-hut where one end could be supported by the snow wall.[3] As soon as the snow melted, therefore, it was cached with the lamp at some convenient spot on land and abandoned until the early winter. In shape, it was roughly rectangular, with one end often a little wider than the other; and in size, it ranged from 3½ to 4½ feet long by 10 to 15 inches wide. An average specimen is shown in Figure 61.

Figure 61. Table. IV.D.698. Approx. 1/12.

DRYING FRAME

417 The Copper Eskimo generally bestowed very little care on the making and handling of their drying frames, which, in consequence, were frequently broken and bent out of shape. Properly made specimens were never round, but roughly oval, the curve being flattened on the long side that fronted the sleeping platform.
[414] Occasionally the two ends of the wooden hoop were merely lashed together; more often they were pegged with bone or copper pins. The frame was further strengthened by cross bars of sticks that passed at intervals of a few inches from one long side to the other and were lashed to the under edge of the frame
[286] exactly as the cross bars of a sled were lashed to the runners. Newly made specimens, especially if large, had webbings of rawhide, but when the rawhide dried out and broke the owners often mended it with sinew. The thongs passed through holes (often sunken) in the frame, forming a warp and a weft that interlaced in what is known as cross-weft pattern, and gave square meshes from 2 to 4 inches across. A typical drying frame is shown in Figure 62. Simpson reported frames made of baleen on the south coast of Victoria Island near Wellington Bay,[4] but all that I observed were made of wood.

[113] [1] Birket-Smith, K.: The Caribou Eskimos. pt. I, p. 143; Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. vol. V. Copenhagen, 1929.

[113] [2] Thalbitzer, T.: Implements and Artefacts of the North-East Greenlanders; Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. XLIV, p. 448.

[3] For the method of supporting the table, lamp, cooking pot, and drying frame *See* Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 61.

[113] [4] Simpson, Thomas: Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America. London, 1843, p. 381.

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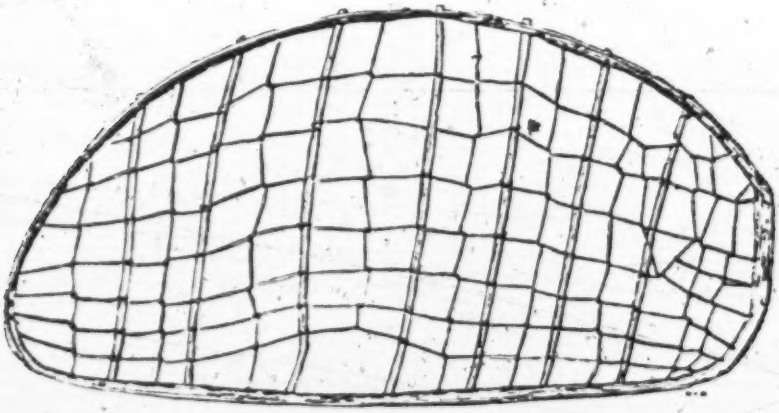

Figure 62. Drying frame. IV.D.647. Approx. 1/14.

BLUBBER POUNDERS

Although a stone or any convenient implement might be used in an emergency to pound the blubber for the lamp, every household possessed at least one, and often two or three implements especially made for this purpose. It was invariably of musk-ox horn, curved evenly almost to a semicircle. The handle was flattened on the sides, and had three or, more usually, four grooves on the under surface to fit the fingers; rarely it ended in a small knob. In size it varied from children's toys 2 or 3 inches long to specimens of 11 inches; the average household size was around 8 inches (Figure 63). Ornamentation was rare, but one specimen in the possession of the Museum (IV.D 1611) has etched into its surface the ring-and-dot design and three parallel lines.

These Copper Eskimo blubber pounders of musk-ox horn differ slightly from the Netchilik specimen figured by Boas.[1] The latter have for the first finger a deep notch that seems to form almost a right angle, sharply dividing the hammer end from the handle. All the Copper Eskimo specimens that I have seen bear rounded grooves only, so that their form is much more graceful. Blubber pounders were used in west and northwest Greenland,[2] and probably also both in Mackenzie delta and in Alaska. The typical West

Figure 63. Blubber pounders, of musk-ox horn, the smallest a toy only. IV.D.150, 435, 1652. Approx. 3/8.

[1] Boas, F.: Eskimo of Baffin Island and Hudson Bay; Anth. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XV, 1907, p. 402.
[2] Thalbitzer, William: Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. 30, p. 533.

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to 12 inches. Often they were flattened at the broader upper end, whose edges were not infrequently serrated (Figure 76).

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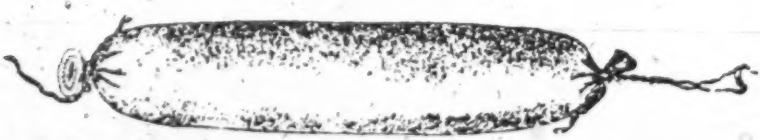

Figure 75. Water bottle, made from the gullet of a seal. IV.D.291. 1/2.

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[531]

Figure 76. Bone meat forks. IV.D.501, 498. 1/2.

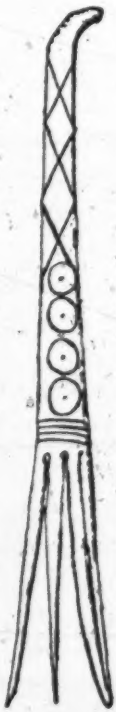

Figure 77. Meat fork, decorated. IV.D.1692. 1/2.

A very unusual meat fork obtained by Captain Bernard in Coronation Gulf is shown in Figure 77. It has four prongs, and the shaft is ornamented with incised crosses, parallel lines, and the ring-and-dot pattern. It might almost be mistaken for a peculiar kind of comb, but Captain Bernard stated that it was actually used as a fork.

[531]

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gave these bones a dazzling whiteness, for which reason, in 1915, a young girl strung about a dozen unfinished needle-cases to a stick and left them to bleach throughout the whole summer. The final smoothness and polish came from handling.

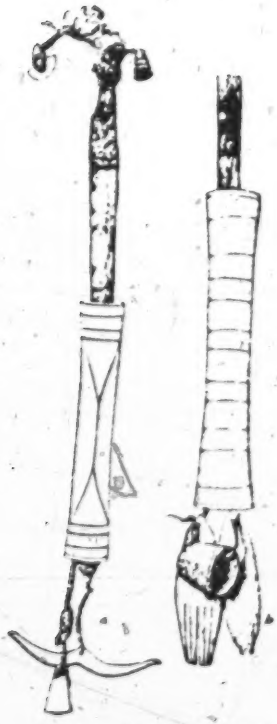

Figure 94. Needle-cases and attachments. IV.D.454, 1633. 1/2.

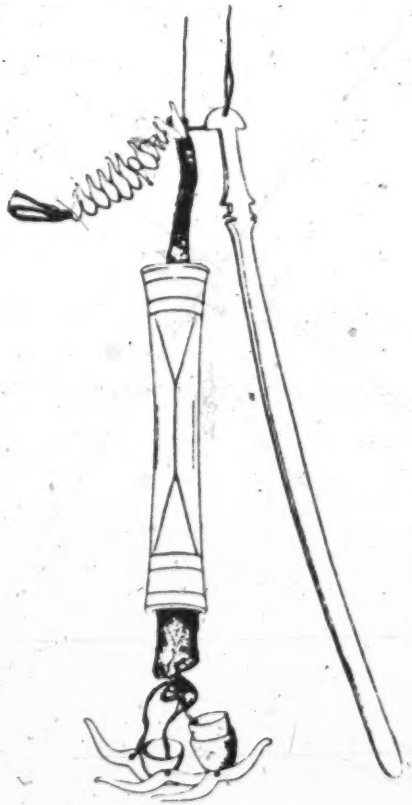

Figure 95. Needle-case and attachments. IV.D.1632. 1/2.

Quite a number of needle-cases, however, were made, not from the leg bone of the caribou, but from the wing bone of a swan, goose, or other aquatic bird (Figure 98). They were much smaller and more rounded than the ordinary needle-case, which was usually flat on one side. These smaller needle-cases of wing bone were used mainly by hunters to repair their footgear or rents in their clothing at times when the women were absent. They were then attached to the bow-case, and often contained merely a needle of the usual type and a little sinew; instead of a thimble the hunter used his teeth, and his skinning knife took the place of the proper knife for cutting skins, the *qimalik*. [224] [192]

Most needle-cases were ornamented with incised lines very similar to the tattooed lines on women. This ornamentation will be discussed in a later section. [531]

325
412 *Needles.* The Copper Eskimo seemed to have no recollection of bone sewing needles, but only of needles made from their native copper. They inserted them into a narrow strip of sealskin, or more rarely caribou skin, and drew them inside the needle-case for protection.

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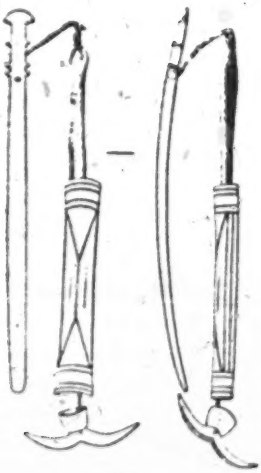

Figure 96. Needle-case and attachments, front and side view. IV.D.151. 1/2.

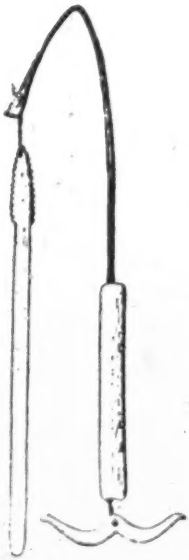

Figure 97. Needle-case and attachments. IV.D.336. 1/4.

Figure 98. Hunter's needle-case, from bird bone. IV.D.387. 1/1.

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412 Copper needles had practically disappeared when we visited the country, although a considerable number were made for sale. The few genuine specimens that I have seen were nearly square in section, from 2½ to 4 inches long, and with eyes drilled from both sides (Figure 99).[1] Iron needles, hammered out in the same manner as the copper ones, were still in common use, but as most of them were too large to enter the needle-case, they were kept by their owners in a separate strip of sealskin or in a bunch of matted moss roots.

412 *Thimbles.* There were two kinds of thimbles. One was simply a cap of
[281] sealskin to cover the tip of the finger (*See* Figure 93a); when not in use it was
[321] often attached by a short thread to the sealskin that contained the needles. The other and more usual kind was made from a small bone in the foot of the caribou, or sometimes from the horn of the musk-ox. In nearly all cases the upper end was open like a ring, because only the side of the thimble was used, not the top. One variety was equally broad all around, and had tiny holes pitted over all or part of the outer surface; another variety resembled a signet ring, except that the broad surface was worn in front, not behind, and that face

[1] The copper needles collected in Coronation Gulf by Hanbury in 1902, now in the British Museum, are square, as are also some iron needles that were collected by Rae in Repulse Bay 60 years earlier.

All sealers carried these bone skewers stuck in a strip of skin, but not all of them burdened themselves with a bag and a spare harpoon. Lacking the bag, they merely cut a hole in the strip of skin for slipping it over the coat button.

Toggle for Leading Dog. Figure 149 illustrates the usual toggle for leading a dog to the sealing ground. In principle it is the same as the toggle on the harness. The rigid parts are of bone, antler, or musk-ox horn; the cord and strap, of sealskin or caribou leg sinew. The broad loop hung over the sealer's wrist, and the small toggle buttoned into the loop at the end of the dog trace. There was no variation except in size, and no ornamentation.

Toggles for Hauling Seals. Toggles for hauling seals were indistinguishable from women's belt toggles (*See* page 50). Like most of the latter they were made of bone, antler, or musk-ox horn, nearly always the first, measured between 2½ and 4 inches from tip to tip, and had the shape of a crescent that tapered towards each end. Two ends of a short cord of sealskin, or more usually of plaited sinew, were passed through the hole and knotted to form a loop (Figure 150). The sealer threaded the toggle through a hole in the seal's mouth, passed it back through the loop and attached it to the trace of his dog, which then dragged the carcass home.

Sealing toggles, like other bone implements, were often ornamented with incised lines. These will be discussed in another place.

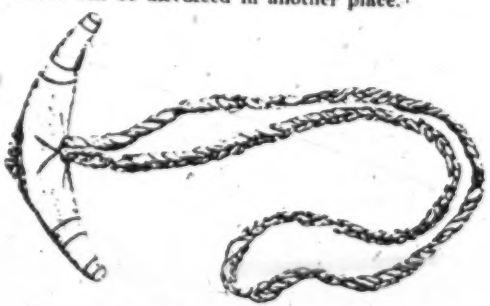

Figure 150. Toggle for hauling seals. IV.D.197. 1/2.

LAND HUNTING EQUIPMENT

Bows and Arrows

Most bows were made from three pieces of spruce wood, a middle piece and two "horns," joined together with the usual "cleft" or V splice (Figure 151*b*). Bows made from a single piece of wood were comparatively rare (Figure 151*a*), though one, owned by a 6-foot Tree River native, was stronger than any of the three-piece weapons. From the eastern end of Coronation Gulf came a few bows built up from musk-ox horn, caribou antler, or both materials combined (Figure 152), indicating a dearth of suitable wood in that region. In one of them, two pieces of musk-ox horn have been joined wth a cleft splice, but elsewhere in this bow, and in all other bows of horn or antler, the makers have used the less difficult scarfed splice, and strengthened it in places with copper or iron rivets. A few wooden bows have scarfed joints also, but they are mostly small weapons for women and children.

Because dry spruce has little tensility and easily fractures, every bow was strengthened with a score or more strands of braided sinew[1], that extended along the whole back and passed around the nocks (Figure 151). Some hunters

[1] One bow, a small one for a woman or child, has thongs of rawhide, presumably from want of sinew.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

for the snow knife, which served also as a hunting knife, sewn to either bow-case or quiver. The carrying strap was attached by sewing or with toggles to the same edge of the bow-case as the quiver, so that the two would lie together; in fact, the ends of the strap often served to unite them.

Figure 158. Bone handle of bow-case. IV. D, 109. 1/2.

Bow-case, quiver, and tool bag, when fully equipped, carried on their surfaces nearly a dozen bone toggles and needles whose forms and uses require some explanation. Other objects might be attached for temporary convenience, but they were not standard equipment.

When the carrying strap, which passed across the chest and around the upper arms like the regular pack-strap, was not sewn directly to the bow-case, it buttoned to two toggles of the standardized shape, illustrated in Figure 160*a*.[1] There was also a long, flat handle, *nerumiarvik*, lashed to the straight edge of the bow-case so that it could be carried in the hand. This handle varied in size according to the size and weight of the bow and quiver, its average length being about 8 inches; the shape never varied, however, except that the ends were sometimes pointed instead of rounded. The flat surface lent itself to ornamentation, and most bow-case handles were decorated with a more or less fixed design[2] (Figure 158).

A toggle similar to those for the carrying strap was occasionally sewn on the side of the bow-case for the attachment of a short board. I failed to procure any specimen of this board, but Figure 159 reproduces field sketches of two that I saw in actual use. Each was about 16 inches long, but one was made from one solid piece of wood, the other from two smaller boards lashed together. The toggle on the bow-case passed through the slot in the middle. In the hunting field the Eskimo planted two walking-sticks in the ground, fastened these boards to their ends, and stationed two children to twirl them, or to beat them with a stick, so that the frightened caribou would not break away from the line of the drive and escape the concealed hunters.[3] The board had two names, *kirgalun* and *aulaqotit*, "driving instrument".

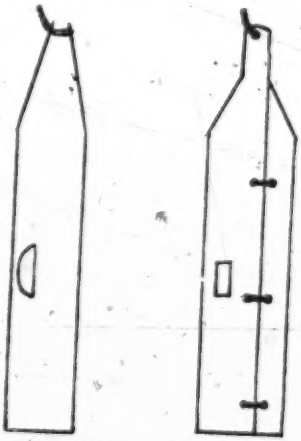

Figure 159. Field sketch of two boards used for frightening caribou. Approx. 1/6.

The quiver was sometimes sewn to the bow-case, sometimes attached by means of small toggles of varying shapes, one type being shown in Figure 160*b*. A similar toggle on the face of the bow-case buttoned over the handle of the snow knife to keep it from slipping out of its sheath.

Somewhere on the outside of either quiver or bow-case were two small bone "wings", from 2 inches to 3 inches long, of standardized shape, for pinning through the wings of

[1] The specimens figured in Stefansson, Anthropological Papers, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 80, called a "pull for Cord used in hauling Seals", is a bow-case handle.

[2] See Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 49, p. 181.

small birds, principally ptarmigan; hence these toggles were called *aqargiqsiutit*: "ptarmigan appliances" (Figure 161).

A bone or musk-ox horn handle (*nerumiutaq*), fitted with a short strap of plaited sinew (Figure 162), was sometimes kept in the tool bag, but more often looped through some hole on the outside of the quiver or bow-case, or attached in some other way. Usually about 10 cm. long, of standardized shape, it was often grooved to fit the fingers in the same way as the blubber pounder and the whittling knife. This handle served on occasion to carry any small bundle, but was principally used for carrying the head of the caribou, or the bag containing its blood. From the latter use it acquired a second name, *auqtun* or "blood carrier".

Figure 160. Toggles sewn to bow-case. *a* for attaching the carrying strap, *b* for attaching the quiver. IV.D.1053, 91, 1/1.

The tool bag was often closed by lacing, for which purpose one end of a short cord of sinew was attached to the edge of the bag, and the other end to a small bone needle with which it could be threaded through the holes. When completely furnished, it contained the following articles.

Two marline-spikes for the bow lashings; two twisters for the bow lashings; one or more spare wedges to go under the lashings; feathers for the arrows, kept usually in a small bag of marmot or other skin; a small board for trimming the feathers; a grooving tool for attaching the feathers; a little caribou back sinew for lashing the feathers, splicing the arrows, sewing rents in clothing, etc.; spare parts of arrows for repairs; bone skewers for the carcasses of game; bone pins for the bag that contained the caribou blood; a wrist guard; a drinking tube; a needle-case and needle; a mattock for making a hunting pit (if too large for the tool bag this was carried in the quiver or even in the bow-case); an arrow straightener.

Very few tool bags, however, contained all these articles. The natives nearly always hunted together, and the deficiencies of one bag could be supplied from another. On the other hand, the tool bag often contained other articles, such as the whittling knife and the graver for cutting bone, which were more usually stored in a special tool bag at home, with the adze and the bow-drill. The bow adjuster, being large and cumbersome, was also left in camp.

Marline-spikes. Marline-spikes (Figure 163), which averaged from 6 inches to 10 inches long, were made of caribou or musk-ox bone. Some closely resembled marrow spatulæ and, at times, were actually used for extracting marrow, but their larger size, heavier construction, and the small hole below the handle instead of at the extreme end distinguished them from the ordinary spatulæ. This hole enabled them to be lashed in pairs, because two were required to unfasten and tighten the back lashings of the bow. One cord often fastened together the two marline-spikes and the two twisters, which also went in pairs. The handles of marline-spikes were frequently grooved for the fingers on one edge, and sometimes on both. Ornamentation, however, was rare, and when it did occur, consisted merely of a few incised lines or the ring-and-dot pattern.

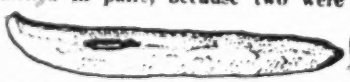

Figure 161. Bone toggle attached to either bow-case or quiver for pinning through ptarmigan wings. IV.D.1829, 1/1.

Twisters. The twisters (Figure 164) were much shorter than the marline-spikes to which they were usually attached, although they were made of the same material, and also used in pairs. All had the same unvarying shape, a flattened

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

412 414 321 about 6 inches long that tapered to rather blunt points, and had rounded or conical knobs at their heads so that they could be fastened together in pairs, either tied with sinew or, more often, pushed through holes in a small strip of sealskin. If knobs were lacking, small holes were drilled for tying them together (Figure 167).

412 414 32 224 [415] *Bone Pins* (for the blood-bag). The hunter generally collected the blood of the caribou in the reticulum of the stomach, which is shaped like a pouch. To close this pouch he carried in his tool bag two or three thin round pins of bone, rarely of wood, that ranged in length from 2½ inches to nearly a foot. The points were usually rather sharp so that they would penetrate the reticulum without tearing a large hole; and the heads were shaped in various ways, so that many blood pins were indistinguishable from the needles used to lace together the front of a tent (Figure 168). Some were quite plain, others had small knobs or were bevelled off like a marrow spatula; but a favourite form had two or even three projecting points, which were useful for keeping the mouth of the bag open when pouring the blood into it. Many hunters fastened their pins in pairs, like the meat skewers, the twisters, and the marline-spikes. A man who had no pins, tied inside the mouth of the blood bag a wooden plug such as is shown in Figure 169.

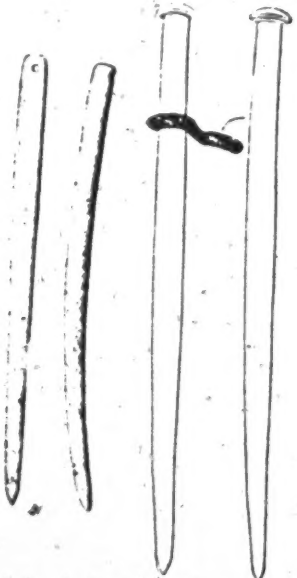

Figure 167. Bone skewers for pinning up a caribou carcass. IV.D.490, 1338. 1/2.

41 [531] [171] *Wrist Guard.* Archer's wrist guards (Figure 170) seemed to be universally of bone, and never to vary from an oval outline. The fine carving and engraving that appears on wrist guards east and west of this area was unknown to the Copper Eskimo, where one specimen was typical of all.

415 237 *Drinking Tube.* The drinking tube, though normally carried by the hunter only, was used by his entire family when travelling overland in summer with all its possessions. It was simply the hollow leg bone of some bird, usually a swan, not ornamented or marked by any special features. Many were indistinguishable from the needle-cases often found in the same tool bag (Figure 171).

its owner streamed water over the mud to produce the thin coating of ice that reduced friction to a minimum.[1] By the end of April, however, it required protection from the growing warmth; the Eskimo, therefore, draped the sunward sides of their sleds with skins when in motion, and piled snow over the runners when at rest. In May even this protection failed them; gradually the mud melted and fell away.

The tops and bottoms of the runners were roughly parallel except in front, where the bottoms curved upward like a ski. Spaced about a foot apart were the flat crossbars, each lashed down at the ends with a rawhide thong that passed two or three times over the bar and a corresponding number of times through a hole in the runner below. To the front crossbar was attached also the toggle that bore the strain of the traces, a "new-moon-shaped" object of musk-ox horn, slotted in the middle and suspended between the runners by means of a belt of stout rawhide, preferably from the skin of the bearded seal (Figure 177); each end of the belt passed from the inside through a special hole in the runner below the front crossbar and then "button-holed" over the projecting end of that bar. There seemed to be no variation in the shape of this sled toggle, nor did I see any that were not made of musk-ox horn, which indicates that the animals were comparatively numerous a few years ago within the territory of the Copper Eskimo.

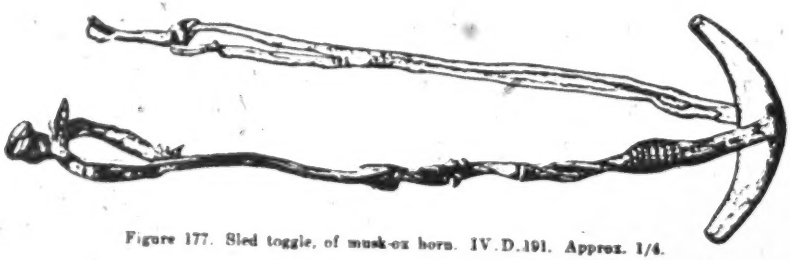

Figure 177. Sled toggle, of musk-ox horn. IV.D.191. Approx. 1/4.

In the late spring and early summer, when a sled was difficult to drag over the numerous patches of bare ground, the Copper Eskimo commonly substituted the skin of a seal or polar bear, which glided with much less friction over soil and stones. In the autumn, again, before recovering the sleds they had abandoned late in the spring, they sometimes fashioned runners from skins, which they held in shape with fillings of willow branches and ice, and equipped with crossbars in the usual manner. On one occasion a native even used a block of ice for a sled; he merely rounded the bottom a little and grooved the front end for the attachment of his trace.

Two Eskimo who travelled from Backs River to our station in the winter of 1915-16 dragged sleds that were longer, narrower, and with lower runners than any I saw among the Copper Eskimo, but in all other respects seemed identical. One of them had a square sail of dehaired caribou hide mounted near the front to take advantage of the favourable wind; this, of course, was not an aboriginal invention, but reflected the influence of Europeans.

Sleds rarely carried any ornamentation. We observed only two instances, both of which consisted of a simple Y pattern painted in red and black on the sides of the runners where they began to turn upward.

Harness. Like other Eskimo previous to European contact, the natives around Coronation Gulf hitched their dogs to the sled fanwise, with individual

[1] See Reports of the Can. Arct. Exped., vol. XII, pp. 116, 119. The Copper Eskimo never mixed blood with the water or used blood alone, as was commonly done by their countrymen farther to the east.

ART

In the field of art the Copper Eskimo accomplished far less than their kinsmen in the eastern and western Arctic, not because they lacked the same gifts, but rather because they failed to develop them. In the decoration of their clothing they displayed a feeling for line and colour, a sense of balance and harmonious composition not surpassed by any other Eskimo group. They demanded symmetry in everything. The insertions on their coats, trousers, and stockings, and the arrangement of the lemming skin pendants, all were governed by this passion for symmetry. Thus, a woman who was sewing two pairs of caribou ears to the shoulders of her coat spaced them at even distances, with the larger pair on the outside and the smaller pair within at a slightly lower level. Symmetry governed also the shapes of many implements. No Eskimo group made trimmer tools and weapons, toggles, and buckles; and the splicing of wood, especially of arrow shafts, was amazingly accurate.

One may believe, therefore, that they possessed in full measure the artistic talents of other Eskimo, but that fashion kept these talents latent. They could have produced the delicate carvings and engravings in bone and ivory that we find in Alaska, and, to a lesser extent, in the eastern Arctic, but the impulse was lacking. They did, it is true, engrave a few simple designs, and make a few rough carvings, mainly for fishing lines and needle-cases; but the "picture-writing" of the western Eskimo, and the naturalistic shapes given to toggles, drum handles, and many other objects were conspicuously absent.

Weaving, except the finger braiding of sinew for sealing lines, was an unknown art, and painting almost equally unknown. The runners of two sleds bore a series of Y designs painted in red and black on their fore ends; otherwise, paint served only to colour skin. Needle-cases and bow-case handles usually bore engraved lines, but other objects only occasionally. The principal designs are shown in Figure 187. The ring-and-dot pattern was not very common, and

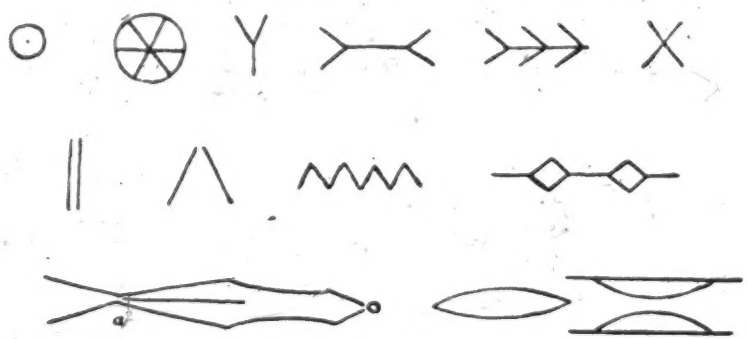

Figure 187. Typical design elements of the Copper Eskimo.

the diagonal lines inside a circle I saw only on a button (Figure 37b). The standard patterns were parallel straight lines and a Y in various combinations; these two were tattooed on the face and wrists (Figures 44, 45), painted, as stated above, on two sleds, inset as strips of fur or skin in the clothing (Figures 28, 29), and engraved on many small bone objects. Fully 60 per cent of the needle-cases were decorated with two Y patterns end to end inside a frame of straight lines (Figures 94, 95, 96), and the commonest design on bow-case handles (Figure 158) was another combination of the Y figure. Radiating lines (two or more), and zigzags, were not common except in tattooing. Rarer still were

531 curved lines apart from circles unless they were conditioned by the curved surfaces of the objects on which they were engraved, as was the case with Figure 187a.[1]

532 32 [524] A few bone carvings, all very crude, are illustrated in Figures 125, 126. The only naturalistic forms are the bird figures attached to the needle-case in Figure 95. Among a child's toys was a figure of a loon carved from antler, and a tiny antler box with wooden bottom that represented the bird's nest (Figure 188).

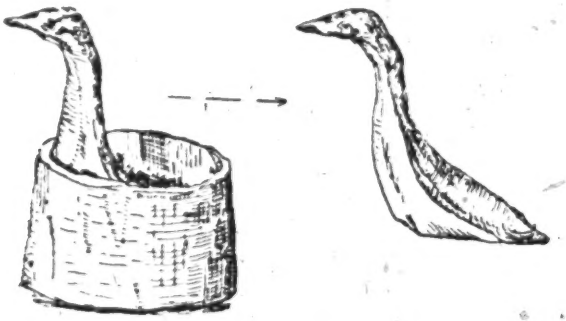

Figure 188. Bone carving. IV.D.605. 1/1.

532 826 12 Noticing that children frequently outlined with their knives, in the hard snow, figures of human beings or their clothing, I distributed a number of notebooks and pencils and asked both adults and children to fill them with sketches. The new pastime amused them, and they quickly furnished me with about a hundred drawings of men and women in which the faces and hands received far less attention than the details of the tattooing and clothing. Those natives whom I watched began indifferently at the shoulder or the foot, and moved the pencil back and forth in every direction with no more dexterity than we expect from a 2 or 3 year-old child, and the results (Figure 189) were not [825] dissimilar. Their drawings of animals such as the caribou, every part of whose anatomy was as familiar to them as their own, were even cruder; and how a map could indicate the geographical features of a country seemed beyond their comprehension. Evidently the sketching of scenes, like writing, was a totally new concept to them; yet I cannot believe that they lack talent, or that the second or third generation from today will not show as much proficiency in drawing as other Eskimo.

284 **KNOTS**

The Copper Eskimo made use of several different kinds of knots, all, except perhaps one, familiar enough to Europeans; but whether they had special names for them I did not discover. To finish off the end of a braid of sinew, or knot the end of a line, they used the common thumb knot; the "figure of eight" appeared to be unknown. Two lines were generally joined by the reef knot, but if one had a loop at the end a single sheet bend was employed. The loop itself might be made in two ways, by cutting a small slit in the end of the sealskin thong and passing the other end through it, thereby producing a kind of slip-

[1] A pair of men's outer trousers, collected by Captain Collinson at Cambridge Bay in 1853 and now in the British Museum, is decorated with a "coloured" of chevrons, the only instance I have seen of this design.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]